104TH CONGRESS 1ST SESSION

H. R. 872

To revitalize the national security of the United States.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

February 9, 1995

Mr. Spence (for himself, Mr. Gilman, Mr. Bryant of Tennessee, and Mr. Hayes) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on International Relations and, in addition, to the Committee on National Security and the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned

A BILL

To revitalize the national security of the United States.

- 1 Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-
- 2 tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,
- 3 SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE: TABLE OF CONTENTS.
- 4 (a) SHORT TITLE.—This Act may be cited as the
- 5 "National Security Revitalization Act".
- 6 (b) Table of Contents for
- 7 this Act is as follows:
 - Sec. 1. Short title; table of contents.

TITLE I—FINDINGS, POLICY, AND PURPOSES

Sec. 101. Findings.

- Sec. 102. Policy.
- Sec. 103. Purposes.

TITLE II—MISSILE DEFENSE

- Sec. 201. Policy.
- Sec. 202. Actions of the Secretary of Defense.
- Sec. 203. Report to Congress.

TITLE III—ADVISORY COMMISSION ON REVITALIZATION OF NATIONAL SECURITY

- Sec. 301. Establishment.
- Sec. 302. Composition.
- Sec. 303. Duties.
- Sec. 304. Reports.
- Sec. 305. Powers.
- Sec. 306. Commission procedures.
- Sec. 307. Personnel matters.
- Sec. 308. Termination of the Commission.
- Sec. 309. Funding.

TITLE IV—COMMAND OF UNITED STATES FORCES

- Sec. 401. Limitation on expenditure of Department of Defense funds for United States forces placed under United Nations command or control.
- Sec. 402. Limitation on placement of United States Armed Forces under foreign control for a United Nations peacekeeping activity.

TITLE V—UNITED NATIONS

- Sec. 501. Credit against assessment for United States expenditures in support of United Nations peacekeeping operations.
- Sec. 502. Codification of required notice to Congress of proposed United Nations peacekeeping activities.
- Sec. 503. Notice to Congress regarding United States contributions for United Nations peacekeeping activities.
- Sec. 504. Revised notice to Congress regarding United States assistance for United Nations peacekeeping activities.
- Sec. 505. United States contributions to United Nations peacekeeping activities.
- Sec. 506. Reimbursement to the United States for in-kind contributions to United Nations peacekeeping activities.
- Sec. 507. Limitation on payment of United States assessed or voluntary contributions for United Nations peacekeeping activities.
- Sec. 508. Limitation on use of Department of Defense funds for United States share of costs of United Nations peacekeeping activities.
- Sec. 509. Codification of limitation on amount of United States assessed contributions for United Nations peacekeeping operations.
- Sec. 510. Buy American requirement.
- Sec. 511. United Nations budgetary and management reform.
- Sec. 512. Conditions on provision of intelligence to the United Nations.

TITLE VI—REVITALIZATION AND EXPANSION OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION

Sec. 601. Short title.

Sec. 602. Findings.

Sec. 603. United States policy.

Sec. 604. Revisions to program to facilitate transition to NATO membership.

TITLE VII—BUDGET FIREWALLS

Sec. 701. Restoration of budget firewalls for defense spending.

1 TITLE I—FINDINGS, POLICY, AND 2 PURPOSES

3 SEC. 101. FINDINGS.

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- 4 The Congress finds the following:
- 5 (1) Dramatic changes in the geo-political and 6 military landscape during the last decade have had 7 significant impacts on United States security.
 - (2) Those changes include the breakup of the Warsaw Pact alliance, the disintegration of the Soviet Union, and an increase in regional instability and conflict.
 - (3) While the magnitude and implications of these and other changes continues to evolve, the world remains an unstable and dangerous place. This uncertainty mandates the need for an on-going process to establish an appropriate national security strategy and the forces needed to implement that strategy.
 - (4) The centerpiece of the defense strategy of the Administration, the review of the Department of Defense conducted by the Secretary of Defense in

| 1 | 1993 known as the "Bottom Up Review", deter- |
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| 2 | mined that United States forces must be— |
| 3 | (A) prepared to fight and win two nearly |
| 4 | simultaneous Major Regional Conflicts; |
| 5 | (B) able to sustain robust overseas pres- |
| 6 | ence in peacetime; |
| 7 | (C) prepared for a variety of regional con- |
| 8 | tingencies; and |
| 9 | (D) able to deter and prevent attacks with |
| 10 | weapons of mass destruction against United |
| 11 | States territory and forces and the territory |
| 12 | and forces of our allies. |
| 13 | (5) The Bottom Up Review also recommended |
| 14 | significant reductions in military forces, including |
| 15 | reduction in the number of Navy ships by one-third, |
| 16 | the number of Air Force wings by almost one-half, |
| 17 | and the level of funding for missile defenses by over |
| 18 | 50 percent. |
| 19 | (6) The General Accounting Office and the |
| 20 | Congressional Budget Office have estimated that the |
| 21 | mismatch between even the restrictive Bottom Up |
| 22 | Review force and the Administration defense budget |
| 23 | may be up to anywhere from \$65,000,000,000 to |
| 24 | \$150,000,000,000. |

- (7) Since January 1993, presidential budgets and budget plans have set forth a reduction in defense spending of \$156,000,000,000 through fiscal year 1999.
 - (8) The fiscal year 1995 budget is the 10th consecutive year of reductions in real defense spending and, with the exception of fiscal year 1948, represents the lowest percentage of gross domestic product for any defense budget since World War II.
 - (9) During fiscal year 1995, the number of active duty, reserve component, and civilian personnel of the Department of Defense will be reduced by 182,000, a rate of over 15,000 per month or over 500 per day. The Bureau of Labor Statistics estimates that 1,200,000 defense-related private sector jobs will be lost by 1997.
 - (10) Despite severe reductions and shortfalls in defense funding and force structure, since 1993 United States military forces have been deployed more often and committed to more peacetime missions per year than ever before. Most of these missions involve United Nations peacekeeping and humanitarian efforts. At the end of fiscal year 1994, over 70,000 United States personnel were serving in such regions as Iraq, Bosnia, Macedonia, the Adri-

- atic Sea, Rwanda, and the Caribbean Sea for missions involving Haiti and Cuba.
 - of operations and the diversion of training and exercise funds to cover the costs of unbudgeted contingency operations, the Armed Forces of the United States remain the most capable, motivated, and effective military force in the world. The ability to successfully deploy and maintain support for the range of on-going contingency operations demonstrates the continued quality and professionalism of our troops.
 - (12) However, persistent indictations of declining readiness demonstrate that military units are entering the early stage of a long-term systemic readiness problem. This downward readiness trend risks a return to the "hollow forces" of the 1970s.
 - (13) At the end of fiscal year 1994, one-third of the units in the Army contingency force and all of the forward-deployed and follow-on Army divisions were reporting a reduced state of military readiness. During fiscal year 1994, training readiness declined for the Navy's Atlantic and Pacific fleets. Training funding shortfalls also resulted in a grounding of Navy and Marine Corps aircraft squadrons and cancellation and curtailment of Army

- training exercises. Marine and naval personnel are not maintaining the standard 12- to 18-month respite between six-month deployments away from home.
 - (14) The significant increase in deployments in support of peacekeeping, humanitarian, and contingency operations has placed great personnel tempo stress on many critical operational units.
 - (15) A real commitment to equitable compensation and protection of quality-of-life programs for servicemembers and their families is an esssential component to ensuring high personnel morale and sustaining force readiness. However, as of January 1, 1995, military pay is approximately 12.8 percent below comparable civilian levels. As a result, it is estimated that close to 17,000 junior enlisted personnel have to rely on food stamps and the Department of Defense will soon begin providing supplementary food benefits to an estimated 11,000 military personnel and dependents living overseas.
 - (16) Critical long-term modernization programs continue to be delayed or cancelled as resources are diverted to cover short-term personnel and readiness shortfalls resulting from an underfunded defense budget and an overextended force, threatening the

- technological superiority of future United Statesforces.
 - (17) The fiscal year 1995 defense budget failed to meet the current force structure goal of 184 modern long-range bombers, as established in the Bottom-Up Review. Unless this long-range bomber capability shortfall is addressed promptly, the Nation's ability to project force will be undermined and the existing bomber industrial base may be placed at risk.
 - (18) The Administration has initially agreed to or proposed treaty limitations, or has unilaterally adopted positions, that prohibit the United States from testing or deploying effective missile defense systems.
 - (19) United Nations assessments to the United States for peacekeeping missions totaled over \$1,000,000,000 in 1994. The United States is assessed 31.7 percent of annual United Nations costs for peacekeeping. The next highest contributor, Japan, only pays 12.5 percent of such costs. The Department of Defense also incurs hundreds of millions of dollars in costs every year for United States military participation in United Nations peacekeeping or humanitarian missions, most of which are not

- reimbursed by the United Nations. For fiscal year 1 2 1994, these Department of Defense costs totaled over \$1,721,000,000. 3
- (20) Credible and effective collective action on 5 international security concerns through the United Nations and regional organizations such as the 6 North Atlantic Treaty Organization can, in appro-7 priate cases, advance world peace, strengthen the 8 9 national security of the United States, and foster more equitable burden-sharing with friends and al-10 11 lies of the United States in military, political, and fi-12 nancial terms.

13 SEC. 102. POLICY.

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- 14 The Congress is committed to providing adequate re-15 sources to protect the national security interests of the United States, including the resources necessary— 16
 - (1) to provide for sufficient forces to meet the national security strategy of being able to fight and win two nearly simultaneously major regional conflicts:
- (2) to provide pay and benefits necessary for 22 members of the Armed Forces (including members 23 of the National Guard and Reserve as well as active 24 duty members) to begin closing the gap between 25 rates of civilian pay and rates of military pay;

| 1 | (3) to maintain a high quality-of-life for mili- |
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| 2 | tary personnel and their dependents; |
| 3 | (4) to maintain a high level of military readi- |
| 4 | ness and take all necessary steps to avoid a return |
| 5 | to the "hollow forces" of the 1970s; |
| 6 | (5) to fully provide for the necessary mod- |
| 7 | ernization of United States military forces in order |
| 8 | to ensure their technological superiority over any ad- |
| 9 | versary; and |
| 10 | (6) to develop and deploy at the earliest prac- |
| 11 | tical date highly effective national and theater mis- |
| 12 | sile defense systems. |
| 13 | SEC. 103. PURPOSES. |
| 14 | The purposes of this Act are— |
| 15 | (1) to establish an advisory commission to as- |
| 16 | sess United States military needs and address the |
| 17 | problems posed by the continuing downward spiral |
| 18 | of defense spending; |
| 19 | |
| | (2) to commit the United States to accelerate |
| 20 | (2) to commit the United States to accelerate the development and deployment of theater and na- |
| 2021 | |
| | the development and deployment of theater and na- |
| 21 | the development and deployment of theater and na- tional ballistic missile defense capabilities; |

| 1 | (4) to maintain adequate command and control |
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| 2 | by United States personnel of United States forces |
| 3 | participating in United Nations peacekeeping oper- |
| 4 | ations; |
| 5 | (5) to reduce the cost to the United States of |
| 6 | United Nations peacekeeping activities and to press |
| 7 | for reforms in United Nations management prac- |
| 8 | tices; and |
| 9 | (6) to reemphasize the commitment of the |
| 10 | United States to a strong and viable North Atlantic |
| 11 | Treaty Organization. |
| 12 | TITLE II—MISSILE DEFENSE |
| 13 | SEC. 201. POLICY. |
| 14 | It shall be the policy of the United States to— |
| 15 | (1) deploy at the earliest practical date an anti- |
| 16 | ballistic missile system that is capable of providing |
| 17 | a highly effective defense of the United States |
| 18 | against ballistic missile attacks; and |
| 19 | (2) provide at the earliest practical date highly |
| 20 | effective theater missile defenses (TMDs) to for- |
| 21 | ward-deployed and expeditionary elements of the |
| 22 | |
| | Armed Forces of the United States and to friendly |

1 SEC. 202. ACTIONS OF THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE.

- 2 (a) ABM Systems.—The Secretary of Defense shall
- 3 develop for deployment at the earliest practical date a
- 4 cost-effective, operationally effective antiballistic missile
- 5 system designed to protect the United States against bal-
- 6 listic missile attacks.
- 7 (b) ADVANCED THEATER MISSILE DEFENSES.—The
- 8 Secretary of Defense shall develop for deployment at the
- 9 earliest practical date advanced theater missile defense
- 10 systems.

11 SEC. 203. REPORT TO CONGRESS.

- 12 (a) REQUIREMENT.—Not later than 60 days after the
- 13 date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of Defense
- 14 shall submit to the congressional defense committees a
- 15 plan for the deployment of an antiballistic missile system
- 16 pursuant to section 202(a) and for the deployment of the-
- 17 ater missile defense systems pursuant to section 202(b).
- 18 (b) Congressional Defense Committees.—For
- 19 purposes of this section, the term "congressional defense
- 20 committees" means—
- 21 (1) the Committee on National Security and the
- Committee on Appropriations of the House of Rep-
- resentatives; and
- 24 (2) the Committee on Armed Services and the
- Committee on Appropriations of the Senate.

TITLE III—ADVISORY COMMIS-

2 SION ON REVITALIZATION OF

3 NATIONAL SECURITY

- 4 SEC. 301. ESTABLISHMENT.
- 5 There is hereby established an advisory commission
- 6 to be known as the "Revitalization of National Security
- 7 Commission" (hereinafter in this title referred to as the
- 8 "Commission").
- 9 SEC. 302. COMPOSITION.
- 10 (a) APPOINTMENT.—The Commission shall be com-
- 11 posed of 12 members, appointed as follows:
- 12 (1) Four members shall be appointed by the
- 13 President.
- 14 (2) Four members shall be appointed by the
- 15 Speaker of the House of Representatives, one of
- whom shall be appointed upon the recommendation
- of the minority leader of the House of Representa-
- 18 tives.
- 19 (3) Four members shall be appointed by the
- president pro tempore of the Senate, three of whom
- shall be appointed upon the recommendation of the
- majority leader of the Senate and one of whom shall
- be appointed upon the recommendation of the mi-
- 24 nority leader of the Senate.

- 1 (b) QUALIFICATIONS.—The members of the Commis-
- 2 sion shall be appointed from among persons having knowl-
- 3 edge and experience in defense and foreign policy.
- 4 (c) TERM OF MEMBERS; VACANCIES.—Members of
- 5 the Commission shall be appointed for the life of the Com-
- 6 mission. A vacancy on the Commission shall not affect its
- 7 powers, but shall be filled in the same manner as the origi-
- 8 nal appointment was made.
- 9 (d) COMMENCEMENT.—The members of the Commis-
- 10 sion shall be appointed not later than 21 days after the
- 11 date of the enactment of this Act. The Commission shall
- 12 convene its first meeting to carry out its duties under this
- 13 section 14 days after seven members of the Commission
- 14 have been appointed.
- 15 (e) Chairman.—The chairman of the Commission
- 16 shall be designated jointly by the Speaker of the House
- 17 of Representatives and the majority leader of the Senate
- 18 (after consultation with the minority leader of the House
- 19 of Representatives and the minority leader of the Senate)
- 20 from among members of the Commission appointed under
- 21 subsection (a)(2) or (a)(3).
- 22 **SEC. 303. DUTIES.**
- 23 (a) Comprehensive Review.—The Commission
- 24 shall conduct a comprehensive review of the long-term na-

- 1 tional security needs of the United States. The review2 shall include the following:
- (1) An assessment of the need for a new national security strategy and, if it is determined that such a new strategy is needed, identification of such a strategy.
 - (2) An assessment of the need for a new national military strategy and, if it is determined that such a new strategy is needed, identification of such a strategy.
 - (3) An assessment of the military force structure necessary to support the new strategies identified under paragraphs (1) and (2).
 - (4) An assessment of force modernization requirements necessary to support the new strategies identified under paragraphs (1) and (2).
 - (5) An assessment of military infrastructure requirements necessary to support the new strategies identified under paragraphs (1) and (2).
 - (6) An assessment of the funding needs of the Department of Defense necessary to support the long-term national security requirements of the United States.

- 1 (7) An assessment of the adequacy of the force 2 structure recommended in the 1993 Bottom-Up Re-3 view in executing the national military strategy.
 - (8) An assessment of the adequacy of the current future-years defense plan in fully funding the Bottom-Up Review force structure while maintaining adequate force modernization and military readiness objectives.
 - (9) An assessment of the level of defense funds expended on non-defense programs.
 - (10) An assessment of the costs to the United States of expanding the membership of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.
 - (11) An assessment of the elements of military pay and allowances constituting the regular military compensation of members of the Armed Forces and the development of recommendations for changes in those elements in order to end the dependence of some members of the Armed Forces and their families on Federal and local assistance programs.
 - (12) An assessment of the need to revise the command and control structure of the Army Reserve.

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| 1 | (b) Matters To Be Considered.—In carrying out |
| 2 | the review, the Commission shall develop specific rec- |
| 3 | ommendations to accomplish each of the following: |
| 4 | (1) Provide members of the Armed Forces with |
| 5 | annual pay raises and other compensation at levels |
| 6 | sufficient to begin closing the gap with comparable |
| 7 | civilian pay levels. |
| 8 | (2) Fully fund cost-effective missile defense sys- |
| 9 | tems that are deployable at the earliest practical |
| 10 | date following enactment of this Act. |
| 11 | (3) Maintain adequate funding for military |
| 12 | readiness accounts without sacrificing modernization |
| 13 | programs. |
| 14 | (4) Maintain a strong role for Guard and Re- |
| 15 | serve forces. |
| 16 | (5) Provide a new funding system to avoid di- |
| 17 | versions from military readiness accounts to pay for |
| 18 | peacekeeping and humanitarian deployments such as |
| 19 | Haiti and Rwanda. |
| 20 | (6) Support security enhancing measures in the |
| 21 | Asia-Pacific region, including support for the Asso- |
| 22 | ciation of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) Re- |
| 23 | gional Forum. |

(7) Reduce the level of defense expenditures for

non-defense programs.

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SEC. 304. REPORTS.

- 2 (a) Final Report.—The Commission shall submit
- 3 to the President and the designated congressional commit-
- 4 tees a report on the assessments and recommendations re-
- 5 ferred to in section 303 not later than January 1, 1996.
- 6 The report shall be submitted in unclassified and classified
- 7 versions.
- 8 (b) INTERIM REPORT.—The Commission shall sub-
- 9 mit to the President and the designated congressional
- 10 committees an interim report describing the Commission's
- 11 progress in fulfilling its duties under section 303. The in-
- 12 terim report shall include any preliminary recommenda-
- 13 tions the Commission may have reached and shall be sub-
- 14 mitted not later than October 1, 1995.
- 15 (c) Designated Congressional Committees.—
- 16 For purposes of this section, the term "designated con-
- 17 gressional committees" means—
- 18 (1) the Committee on National Security, the
- 19 Committee on International Relations, and the Com-
- 20 mittee on Appropriations of the House of Represent-
- 21 atives; and
- 22 (2) the Committee on Armed Services, the
- Committee on Foreign Relations, and the Committee
- on Appropriations of the Senate.
- 25 (d) Limitation Pending Submission of Interim
- 26 Report.—The Secretary of the Army may not, during the

- 1 period beginning on the date of the enactment of this Act
- 2 and ending on the date on which the interim report under
- 3 subsection (b) is submitted, take any action to implement
- 4 the plan to reorganize the Army Reserve's continental
- 5 United States headquarters structures that was an-
- 6 nounced by the Secretary on January 4, 1995.

7 SEC. 305. POWERS.

- 8 (a) Hearings.—The Commission may, for the pur-
- 9 pose of carrying out this section, conduct such hearings,
- 10 sit and act at such times, take such testimony, and receive
- 11 such evidence, as the Commission considers appropriate.
- 12 (b) Assistance From Other Agencies.—The
- 13 Commission may secure directly from any department or
- 14 agency of the Federal Government such information, rel-
- 15 evant to its duties under this title, as may be necessary
- 16 to carry out such duties. Upon request of the chairman
- 17 of the Commission, the head of the department or agency
- 18 shall, to the extent permitted by law, furnish such infor-
- 19 mation to the Commission.
- 20 (c) Mail.—The Commission may use the United
- 21 States mails in the same manner and under the same con-
- 22 ditions as the departments and agencies of the Federal
- 23 Government.
- 24 (d) Assistance From Secretary of Defense.—
- 25 The Secretary of Defense shall provide to the Commission

- 1 such reasonable administrative and support services as the
- 2 Commission may request.

3 SEC. 306. COMMISSION PROCEDURES.

- 4 (a) Meetings.—The Commission shall meet on a
- 5 regular basis (as determined by the chairman) and at the
- 6 call of the chairman or a majority of its members.
- 7 (b) QUORUM.—A majority of the members of the
- 8 Commission shall constitute a quorum for the transaction
- 9 of business.

10 SEC. 307. PERSONNEL MATTERS.

- 11 (a) Compensation.—Each member of the Commis-
- 12 sion shall serve without compensation, but shall be allowed
- 13 travel expenses including per diem in lieu of subsistence,
- 14 as authorized by section 5703 of title 5, United States
- 15 Code, when engaged in the performance of Commission
- 16 duties.
- 17 (b) STAFF.—The Commission shall appoint a staff
- 18 director, who shall be paid at a rate not to exceed the
- 19 maximum rate of basic pay under section 5376 of title
- 20 5, United States Code, and such professional and clerical
- 21 personnel as may be reasonable and necessary to enable
- 22 the Commission to carry out its duties under this title
- 23 without regard to the provisions of title 5, United States
- 24 Code, governing appointments in the competitive service,
- 25 and without regard to the provisions of chapter 51 and

- 1 subchapter III of chapter 53 of such title, or any other
- 2 provision of law, relating to the number, classification, and
- 3 General Schedule rates. No employee appointed under this
- 4 subsection (other than the staff director) may be com-
- 5 pensated at a rate to exceed the maximum rate applicable
- 6 to level 15 of the General Schedule.
- 7 (c) Detailed Personnel.—Upon request of the
- 8 chairman of the Commission, the head of any department
- 9 or agency of the Federal Government is authorized to de-
- 10 tail, without reimbursement, any personnel of such depart-
- 11 ment or agency to the Commission to assist the Commis-
- 12 sion in carrying out its duties under this section. The de-
- 13 tail of any such personnel may not result in the interrup-
- 14 tion or loss of civil service status or privilege of such per-
- 15 sonnel.
- 16 SEC. 308. TERMINATION OF THE COMMISSION.
- 17 The Commission shall terminate upon submission of
- 18 the final report required by section 303.
- 19 **SEC. 309. FUNDING.**
- Of the funds available to the Department of Defense,
- 21 \$1,500,000 shall be made available to the Commission to
- 22 carry out the provisions of this title.

| 1 | TITLE IV—COMMAND OF UNITED |
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| 2 | STATES FORCES |
| 3 | SEC. 401. LIMITATION ON EXPENDITURE OF DEPARTMENT |
| 4 | OF DEFENSE FUNDS FOR UNITED STATES |
| 5 | FORCES PLACED UNDER UNITED NATIONS |
| 6 | COMMAND OR CONTROL. |
| 7 | (a) IN GENERAL.—(1) Chapter 20 of title 10, United |
| 8 | States Code, is amended by inserting after section 404 the |
| 9 | following new section: |
| 10 | "§ 405. Placement of United States forces under |
| 11 | United Nations command or control: limi- |
| 12 | tation |
| 13 | "(a) Limitation.—Except as provided in subsections |
| 14 | (b) and (c), funds appropriated or otherwise made avail- |
| 15 | able for the Department of Defense may not be obligated |
| 16 | or expended for activities of any element of the armed |
| 17 | forces that after the date of the enactment of this section |
| 18 | is placed under United Nations command or control, as |
| 19 | defined in subsection (f). |
| 20 | "(b) Exception for Presidential Certifi- |
| 21 | CATION.—(1) Subsection (a) shall not apply in the case |
| 22 | of a proposed placement of an element of the armed forces |
| 23 | under United Nations command or control if the Presi- |
| 24 | dent, not less than 15 days before the date on which such |
| 25 | United Nations command or control is to become effective |

| 1 | (or as provided in paragraph (2)), meets the requirements |
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| 2 | of subsection (d). |
| 3 | "(2) If the President certifies to Congress that ar |
| 4 | emergency exists that precludes the President from meet- |
| 5 | ing the requirements of subsection (d) 15 days before plac- |
| 6 | ing an element of the armed forces under United Nations |
| 7 | command or control, the President may place such forces |
| 8 | under such command or control and meet the require- |
| 9 | ments of subsection (d) in a timely manner, but in no |
| 10 | event later than 48 hours after such command or control |
| 11 | becomes effective. |
| 12 | "(c) Exception for Authorization by Law.— |
| 13 | Subsection (a) shall not apply in the case of a proposed |
| 14 | placement of any element of the armed forces under Unit- |
| 15 | ed Nations command or control if the Congress specifically |
| 16 | authorizes by law that particular placement of United |
| 17 | States forces under United Nations command or control |
| 18 | "(d) Presidential Certifications.—The require- |
| 19 | ments referred to in subsection (b)(1) are that the Presi- |
| 20 | dent submit to Congress the following: |
| 21 | "(1) Certification by the President that— |
| 22 | "(A) such a United Nations command or |
| 23 | control arrangement is necessary to protect na- |
| 24 | tional security interests of the United States: |

| 1 | "(B) the commander of any unit of the |
|----|------------------------------------------------|
| 2 | armed forces proposed for placement under |
| 3 | United Nations command or control will at all |
| 4 | times retain the right— |
| 5 | "(i) to report independently to supe- |
| 6 | rior United States military authorities; and |
| 7 | "(ii) to decline to comply with orders |
| 8 | judged by the commander to be illegal, |
| 9 | militarily imprudent, or beyond the man- |
| 10 | date of the mission to which the United |
| 11 | States agreed with the United Nations, |
| 12 | until such time as that commander receives |
| 13 | direction from superior United States mili- |
| 14 | tary authorities with respect to the orders |
| 15 | that the commander has declined to com- |
| 16 | ply with; |
| 17 | "(C) any element of the armed forces pro- |
| 18 | posed for placement under United Nations com- |
| 19 | mand or control will at all times remain under |
| 20 | United States administrative command for such |
| 21 | purposes as discipline and evaluation; and |
| 22 | "(D) the United States will retain the au- |
| 23 | thority to withdraw any element of the armed |
| 24 | forces from the proposed operation at any time |

| 1 | and to take any action it considers necessary to |
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| 2 | protect those forces if they are engaged. |
| 3 | "(2) A report setting forth the following: |
| 4 | "(A) A description of the national security |
| 5 | interests that require the placement of United |
| 6 | States forces under United Nations command |
| 7 | or control. |
| 8 | "(B) The mission of the United States |
| 9 | forces involved. |
| 10 | "(C) The expected size and composition of |
| 11 | the United States forces involved. |
| 12 | "(D) The incremental cost to the United |
| 13 | States of participation in the United Nations |
| 14 | operation by the United States forces which are |
| 15 | proposed to be placed under United Nations |
| 16 | command or control. |
| 17 | "(E) The precise command and control re- |
| 18 | lationship between the United States forces in- |
| 19 | volved and the United Nations command |
| 20 | structure. |
| 21 | "(F) The precise command and control re- |
| 22 | lationship between the United States forces in- |
| 23 | volved and the commander of the United States |
| 24 | unified command for the region in which those |
| 25 | United States forces are to operate. |

| 1 | "(G) The extent to which the United |
|----|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| 2 | States forces involved will rely on non-United |
| 3 | States forces for security and self-defense and |
| 4 | an assessment on the ability of those non- |
| 5 | United States forces to provide adequate secu- |
| 6 | rity to the United States forces involved. |
| 7 | "(H) The timetable for complete with- |
| 8 | drawal of the United States forces involved. |
| 9 | "(e) Classification of Report.—A report under |
| 10 | subsection (d) shall be submitted in unclassified form and, |
| 11 | if necessary, in classified form. |
| 12 | "(f) United Nations Command or Control.— |
| 13 | For purposes of this section, an element of the armed |
| 14 | forces shall be considered to be placed under United Na- |
| 15 | tions command or control if— |
| 16 | "(1) that element is under the command or |
| 17 | operational control of an individual acting on behalf |
| 18 | of the United Nations for the purpose of inter- |
| 19 | national peacekeeping, peacemaking, peace-enforc- |
| 20 | ing, or similar activity that is authorized by the |
| 21 | Security Council under chapter VI or VII of the |
| 22 | Charter of the United Nations; and |
| 23 | "(2) the senior military commander of the |
| 24 | United Nations force or operation— |

| 1 | "(A) is a foreign national or is a citizen of |
|----|-----------------------------------------------|
| 2 | the United States who is not a United States |
| 3 | military officer serving on active duty; or |
| 4 | "(B) is a United States military officer |
| 5 | serving on active duty but— |
| 6 | "(i) that element of the armed forces |
| 7 | is under the command or operational con- |
| 8 | trol of subordinate commander who is a |
| 9 | foreign national or a citizen of the United |
| 10 | States who is not a United States military |
| 11 | officer serving on active duty; and |
| 12 | ''(ii) that senior military commander |
| 13 | does not have the authority— |
| 14 | "(I) to dismiss any subordinate |
| 15 | officer in the chain of command who |
| 16 | is exercising command or operational |
| 17 | control over United States forces and |
| 18 | who is a foreign national or a citizen |
| 19 | of the United States who is not a |
| 20 | United States military officer serving |
| 21 | on active duty; |
| 22 | "(II) to establish rules of engage- |
| 23 | ment for United States forces in- |
| 24 | volved; and |

| 1 | "(III) to establish criteria gov- |
|----|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 2 | erning the operational employment of |
| 3 | United States forces involved. |
| 4 | "(g) Interpretation.—Nothing in this section may |
| 5 | be construed— |
| 6 | "(1) as authority for the President to use any |
| 7 | element of the armed forces in any operation; |
| 8 | "(2) as authority for the President to place any |
| 9 | element of the armed forces under the command or |
| 10 | operational control of a foreign national; or |
| 11 | "(3) as an unconstitutional infringement on the |
| 12 | authority of the President as commander-in-chief.". |
| 13 | (2) The table of sections at the beginning of sub- |
| 14 | chapter I of such chapter is amended by adding at the |
| 15 | end the following new item: |
| | "405. Placement of United States forces under United Nations command or control: limitation.". |
| 16 | (b) REPORT RELATING TO CONSTITUTIONALITY.— |
| 17 | No certification may be submitted by the President under |
| 18 | section 405(d)(1) of title 10, United States Code, as added |
| 19 | by subsection (a), until the President has submitted to the |
| 20 | Congress (after the date of the enactment of this Act) a |
| 21 | memorandum of legal points and authorities explaining |
| 22 | why the placement of elements of United States Armed |
| 23 | Forces under the command or operational control of a for- |

- 1 eign national acting on behalf of the United Nations does
- 2 not violate the Constitution.
- 3 (c) Exception for Ongoing Operations in Mac-
- 4 EDONIA AND CROATIA.—Section 405 of title 10, United
- 5 States Code, as added by subsection (a), does not apply
- 6 in the case of activities of the Armed Forces as part of
- 7 the United Nations force designated as the United Na-
- 8 tions Protection Force (UNPROFOR) that are carried
- 9 out—
- 10 (1) in Macedonia pursuant to United Nations
- 11 Security Council Resolution 795, adopted December
- 12 11, 1992, and subsequent reauthorization Resolu-
- tions; or
- 14 (2) in Croatia pursuant to United Nations Se-
- curity Council Resolution 743, adopted February 21,
- 16 1992, and subsequent reauthorization Resolutions.
- 17 SEC. 402. LIMITATION ON PLACEMENT OF UNITED STATES
- 18 ARMED FORCES UNDER FOREIGN CONTROL
- 19 FOR A UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING AC-
- **20 TIVITY.**
- 21 (a) IN GENERAL.—Section 6 of the United Nations
- 22 Participation Act of 1945 (22 U.S.C. 287d) is amended
- 23 to read as follows:
- "Sec. 6. (a) Agreements With Security Coun-
- 25 CIL.—(1) Any special agreement described in paragraph

- 1 (2) that is concluded by the President with the Security
- 2 Council shall not be effective unless approved by the Con-
- 3 gress by law.
- 4 "(2) An agreement referred to in paragraph (1) is
- 5 an agreement providing for the numbers and types of
- 6 United States Armed Forces, their degree of readiness and
- 7 general locations, or the nature of facilities and assistance,
- 8 including rights of passage, to be made available to the
- 9 Security Council for the purpose of maintaining inter-
- 10 national peace and security in accordance with Article 43
- 11 of the Charter of the United Nations.
- 12 "(b) LIMITATION.—(1) Except as provided in sub-
- 13 sections (c) and (d), the President may not place any ele-
- 14 ment of the Armed Forces under United Nations com-
- 15 mand or control, as defined in subsection (g).
- 16 "(c) Exception for Presidential Certifi-
- 17 CATION.—(1) Subsection (b) shall not apply in the case
- 18 of a proposed placement of an element of the armed forces
- 19 under United Nations command or control if the Presi-
- 20 dent, not less than 15 days before the date on which such
- 21 United Nations command or control is to become effective
- 22 (or as provided in paragraph (2)), meets the requirements
- 23 of subsection (e).
- 24 "(2) If the President certifies to Congress that an
- 25 emergency exists that precludes the President from meet-

| 1 | ing the requirements of subsection (e) 15 days before place |
|----|--------------------------------------------------------------|
| 2 | ing an element of the armed forces under United Nations |
| 3 | command or control, the President may place such forces |
| 4 | under such command or control and meet the require |
| 5 | ments of subsection (e) in a timely manner, but in no |
| 6 | event later than 48 hours after such command or contro |
| 7 | becomes effective. |
| 8 | "(d) Exception for Authorization by Law.— |
| 9 | Subsection (b) shall not apply in the case of a proposed |
| 10 | placement of any element of the Armed Forces under |
| 11 | United Nations command or control if the Congress spe- |
| 12 | cifically authorizes by law that particular placement of |
| 13 | United States forces under United Nations command or |
| 14 | control. |
| 15 | "(e) Presidential Certifications.—The require |
| 16 | ments referred to in subsection $(c)(1)$ are that the Presi- |
| 17 | dent submit to Congress the following: |
| 18 | "(1) Certification by the President that— |
| 19 | "(A) such a United Nations command or |
| 20 | control arrangement is necessary to protect na- |
| 21 | tional security interests of the United States; |
| 22 | "(B) the commander of any unit of the |
| 23 | Armed Forces proposed for placement under |
| 24 | United Nations command or control will at al |
| 25 | times retain the right— |

| 1 | "(i) to report independently to supe- |
|----|--------------------------------------------------|
| 2 | rior United States military authorities; and |
| 3 | "(ii) to decline to comply with orders |
| 4 | judged by the commander to be illegal, |
| 5 | militarily imprudent, or beyond the man- |
| 6 | date of the mission to which the United |
| 7 | States agreed with the United Nations, |
| 8 | until such time as that commander receives |
| 9 | direction from superior United States mili- |
| 10 | tary authorities with respect to the orders |
| 11 | that the commander has declined to com- |
| 12 | ply with; |
| 13 | "(C) any element of the Armed Forces |
| 14 | proposed for placement under United Nations |
| 15 | command or control will at all times remain |
| 16 | under United States administrative command |
| 17 | for such purposes as discipline and evaluation; |
| 18 | and |
| 19 | "(D) the United States will retain the au- |
| 20 | thority to withdraw any element of the Armed |
| 21 | Forces from the proposed operation at any time |
| 22 | and to take any action it considers necessary to |
| 23 | protect those forces if they are engaged. |
| 24 | "(2) A report setting forth the following: |

| 1 | "(A) A description of the national security |
|----|-------------------------------------------------|
| 2 | interests that require the placement of United |
| 3 | States forces under United Nations command |
| 4 | or control. |
| 5 | "(B) The mission of the United States |
| 6 | forces involved. |
| 7 | "(C) The expected size and composition of |
| 8 | the United States forces involved. |
| 9 | "(D) The incremental cost to the United |
| 10 | States of participation in the United Nations |
| 11 | operation by the United States forces which are |
| 12 | proposed to be placed under United Nations |
| 13 | command or control. |
| 14 | "(E) The precise command and control re- |
| 15 | lationship between the United States forces in- |
| 16 | volved and the United Nations command struc- |
| 17 | ture. |
| 18 | "(F) The precise command and control re- |
| 19 | lationship between the United States forces in- |
| 20 | volved and the commander of the United States |
| 21 | unified command for the region in which those |
| 22 | United States forces are to operate. |
| 23 | "(G) The extent to which the United |
| 24 | States forces involved will rely on non-United |
| 25 | States forces for security and self-defense and |

| 1 | an assessment on the ability of those non- |
|----|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| 2 | United States forces to provide adequate secu- |
| 3 | rity to the United States forces involved. |
| 4 | "(H) The timetable for complete with- |
| 5 | drawal of the United States forces involved. |
| 6 | "(f) Classification of Report.—A report under |
| 7 | subsection (e) shall be submitted in unclassified form and, |
| 8 | if necessary, in classified form. |
| 9 | "(g) United Nations Command or Control.— |
| 10 | For purposes of this section, an element of the armed |
| 11 | forces shall be considered to be placed under United Na- |
| 12 | tions command or control if— |
| 13 | "(1) that element is under the command or |
| 14 | operational control of an individual acting on behalf |
| 15 | of the United Nations for the purpose of inter- |
| 16 | national peacekeeping, peacemaking, peace-enforc- |
| 17 | ing, or similar activity that is authorized by the Se- |
| 18 | curity Council under chapter VI or VII of the Char- |
| 19 | ter of the United Nations; and |
| 20 | "(2) the senior military commander of the |
| 21 | United Nations force or operation— |
| 22 | "(A) is a foreign national or is a citizen of |
| 23 | the United States who is not a United States |
| 24 | military officer serving on active duty; or |

| 1 | "(B) is a United States military officer |
|----|---------------------------------------------|
| 2 | serving on active duty but— |
| 3 | "(i) that element of the armed forces |
| 4 | is under the command or operational con- |
| 5 | trol of subordinate commander who is a |
| 6 | foreign national or a citizen of the United |
| 7 | States who is not a United States military |
| 8 | officer serving on active duty; and |
| 9 | "(ii) that senior military commander |
| 10 | does not have the authority— |
| 11 | "(I) to dismiss any subordinate |
| 12 | officer in the chain of command who |
| 13 | is exercising command or operational |
| 14 | control over United States forces and |
| 15 | who is a foreign national or a citizen |
| 16 | of the United States who is not a |
| 17 | United States military officer serving |
| 18 | on active duty; |
| 19 | "(II) to establish rules of engage- |
| 20 | ment for United States forces in- |
| 21 | volved; and |
| 22 | ''(III) to establish criteria gov- |
| 23 | erning the operational employment of |
| 24 | United States forces involved. |

- 1 "(h) Interpretation.—Except as authorized in
- 2 section 7 of this Act, nothing contained in this Act shall
- 3 be construed as an authorization to the President by the
- 4 Congress to make available to the Security Council United
- 5 States Armed Forces, facilities, or assistance.".
- 6 (b) Report Relating to Constitutionality.—
- 7 No certification may be submitted by the President under
- 8 section 6(e)(1) of the United Nations Participation Act
- 9 of 1945, as amended by subsection (a), until the President
- 10 has submitted to the Congress (after the date of the enact-
- 11 ment of this Act) a memorandum of legal points and au-
- 12 thorities explaining why the placement of elements of
- 13 United States Armed Forces under the command or oper-
- 14 ational control of a foreign national acting on behalf of
- 15 the United Nations does not violate the Constitution.
- 16 (c) Exception for Ongoing Operation in Mac-
- 17 EDONIA AND CROATIA.—Section 6 of the United Nations
- 18 Participation Act of 1945, as amended by subsection (a),
- 19 does not apply in the case of activities of the Armed
- 20 Forces as part of the United Nations force designated as
- 21 the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) that
- 22 are carried out—
- 23 (1) in Macedonia pursuant to United Nations
- Security Council Resolution 795, adopted December

| 1 | 11, 1992, and subsequent reauthorization Resolu- |
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| 2 | tions; or |
| 3 | (2) in Croatia pursuant to United Nations Se- |
| 4 | curity Council Resolution 743, adopted February 21, |
| 5 | 1992, and subsequent reauthorization Resolutions. |
| 6 | TITLE V—UNITED NATIONS |
| 7 | SEC. 501. CREDIT AGAINST ASSESSMENT FOR UNITED |
| 8 | STATES EXPENDITURES IN SUPPORT OF |
| 9 | UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING OPER- |
| 10 | ATIONS. |
| 11 | (a) IN GENERAL.—The United Nations Participation |
| 12 | Act of 1945 (22 U.S.C. 287 et seq.) is amended by adding |
| 13 | at the end the following new section: |
| 14 | "Sec. 10. (a) Credit Against Assessment for |
| 15 | EXPENDITURES IN SUPPORT OF PEACEKEEPING OPER- |
| 16 | ATIONS.— |
| 17 | "(1) LIMITATION.—Funds may be obligated for |
| 18 | payment to the United Nations of the United States |
| 19 | assessed share of peacekeeping operations for a fis- |
| 20 | cal year only to the extent that— |
| 21 | "(A) the amount of such assessed share |
| 22 | exceeds— |
| 23 | "(B) the amount equal to— |
| 24 | "(i) the total amount identified in the |
| 25 | report submitted pursuant to paragraph |

| 1 | (2) for the preceding fiscal year, reduced |
|----|-------------------------------------------------------|
| 2 | by |
| 3 | "(ii) the amount of any reimburse- |
| 4 | ment or credit to the United States by the |
| 5 | United Nations for the costs of United |
| 6 | States support for, or participation in, |
| 7 | United Nations peacekeeping activities for |
| 8 | that preceding fiscal year. |
| 9 | "(2) Annual report.—The President shall, at |
| 10 | the time of submission of the budget to the Congress |
| 11 | for any fiscal year, submit to the designated con- |
| 12 | gressional committees a report on the total amount |
| 13 | of incremental costs incurred by the Department of |
| 14 | Defense during the preceding fiscal year to support |
| 15 | or participate in, directly or indirectly, United Na- |
| 16 | tions peacekeeping activities. Such report shall in- |
| 17 | clude a separate listing by United Nations peace- |
| 18 | keeping operation of the amount of incremental |
| 19 | costs incurred to support or participate in each such |
| 20 | operation. |
| 21 | "(3) Definitions.—For purposes of this sub- |
| 22 | section: |
| 23 | "(A) United nations peacekeeping ac- |
| 24 | TIVITIES.—The term 'United Nations peace- |
| 25 | keeping activities' means any international |

peacekeeping, peacemaking, peace-enforcing, or similar activity that is authorized by the United Nations Security Council under chapter VI or VII of the Charter of the United Nations, except that such term does not include any such activity authorized under chapter VII of such Charter with respect to which the President has certified to the Congress that the activity is of such importance to the national security of the United States that the United States would undertake the activity unilaterally if it were not authorized by the United Nations Security Council.

- "(B) DESIGNATED CONGRESSIONAL COM-MITTEES.—The term 'designated congressional committees' includes the Committee on National Security of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Armed Services of the Senate."
- 20 (b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The limitation contained in 21 section 10(a)(1) of the United Nations Participation Act 22 of 1945, as added by subsection (a), shall apply only with 23 respect to United Nations assessments for peacekeeping 24 operations after fiscal year 1995.

| 1 | SEC. 502. CODIFICATION OF REQUIRED NOTICE TO CON- |
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| 2 | GRESS OF PROPOSED UNITED NATIONS |
| 3 | PEACEKEEPING ACTIVITIES. |
| 4 | (a) REQUIRED NOTICE.—Section 4 of the United Na- |
| 5 | tions Participation Act of 1945 (22 U.S.C. $287b$) is |
| 6 | amended— |
| 7 | (1) by striking the second sentence of sub- |
| 8 | section (a); |
| 9 | (2) by redesignating subsection (e) as sub- |
| 10 | section (f); and |
| 11 | (3) by inserting after subsection (d) a new sub- |
| 12 | section (e) consisting of the text of subsection (a) of |
| 13 | section 407 of the Foreign Relations Authorization |
| 14 | Act, Fiscal Years 1994 and 1995 (Public Law 103- |
| 15 | 236), revised— |
| 16 | (A) in paragraph (2)— |
| 17 | (i) in the matter preceding subpara- |
| 18 | graph (A), by inserting "in written form |
| 19 | not later than the 10th day of" after |
| 20 | "shall be provided"; |
| 21 | (ii) in subparagraph (A)(iv), by insert- |
| 22 | ing "(including facilities, training, trans- |
| 23 | portation, communication, and logistical |
| 24 | support, but not including intelligence ac- |
| 25 | tivities reportable under title V of the Na- |
| 26 | tional Security Act of 1947 (50 U.S.C. 413 |

| 1 | et seq.))'' after ''covered by the resolu- |
|----|----------------------------------------------------|
| 2 | tion''; and |
| 3 | (iii) in subparagraph (B), by adding |
| 4 | at the end the following new clause: |
| 5 | "(iv) A description of any other Unit- |
| 6 | ed States assistance to or support for the |
| 7 | operation (including facilities, training, |
| 8 | transportation, communication, and |
| 9 | logistical support, but not including intel- |
| 10 | ligence activities reportable under title V of |
| 11 | the National Security Act of 1947 (50 |
| 12 | U.S.C. 413 et seq.)), and an estimate of |
| 13 | the cost to the United States of such as- |
| 14 | sistance or support."; |
| 15 | (B) by striking paragraph (3); |
| 16 | (C) by redesignating paragraph (4) as |
| 17 | paragraph (3) and in the last sentence of sub- |
| 18 | paragraph (A) of that paragraph by striking |
| 19 | "and (ii)" and inserting "through (iv)"; |
| 20 | (D) by inserting after paragraph (3) (as so |
| 21 | redesignated) the following new paragraph: |
| 22 | "(4) New united nations peacekeeping op- |
| 23 | ERATION DEFINED.—As used in paragraphs (2) (B) |
| 24 | and (3), the term 'new United Nations peacekeeping |

| 1 | operation includes any existing or otherwise ongoing |
|----|------------------------------------------------------------|
| 2 | United Nations peacekeeping operation— |
| 3 | "(A) that is to be expanded by more than |
| 4 | 25 percent during the period covered by the Se- |
| 5 | curity Council resolution, as measured by either |
| 6 | the number of personnel participating (or au- |
| 7 | thorized to participate) in the operation or the |
| 8 | budget of the operation; or |
| 9 | "(B) that is to be authorized to operate in |
| 10 | a country in which it was not previously author- |
| 11 | ized to operate."; and |
| 12 | (E) in paragraph (5)— |
| 13 | (i) by striking "(5) Notification" |
| 14 | and all that follows through "(B) The |
| 15 | President" and inserting "(5) QUARTERLY |
| 16 | REPORTS.—The President"; and |
| 17 | (ii) by striking "section 4(d)" and all |
| 18 | that follows through "of this section" and |
| 19 | inserting "subsection (d)". |
| 20 | (b) Conforming Repeal.—Subsection (a) of section |
| 21 | 407 of the Foreign Relations Authorization Act, Fiscal |
| 22 | Years 1994 and 1995 (Public Law 103–236), is repealed. |
| 23 | (c) Designated Congressional Committees.— |
| 24 | Subsection (f) of section 4 of the United Nations Partici- |

| | 10 |
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| 1 | pation Act of 1945 (22 U.S.C. 287b(f)), as redesignated |
| 2 | by subsection (a), is amended to read as follows: |
| 3 | "(f) Designated Congressional Committees.— |
| 4 | As used in this section, the term 'designated congressional |
| 5 | committees' has the meaning given such term in section |
| 6 | 10(f).". |
| 7 | SEC. 503. NOTICE TO CONGRESS REGARDING UNITED |
| 8 | STATES CONTRIBUTIONS FOR UNITED NA- |
| 9 | TIONS PEACEKEEPING ACTIVITIES. |
| 10 | Section 10 of the United Nations Participation Act |
| 11 | of 1945 is amended by adding after subsection (a), as |
| 12 | added by section 501, the following new subsection: |
| 13 | "(b) Notice to Congress Regarding Contribu- |
| 14 | TIONS FOR PEACEKEEPING ACTIVITIES.— |
| 15 | "(1) Notice regarding united nations |
| 16 | BILLING REQUEST.—Not later than 15 days after |
| 17 | the date on which the United States receives from |
| 18 | the United Nations a billing requesting a payment |
| 19 | by the United States of any contribution for United |
| 20 | Nations peacekeeping activities, the President shall |
| 21 | so notify the designated congressional committees. |
| | |

"(2) Notice regarding proposed obligation of funds.—The President shall notify the designated congressional committees at least 15 days before the United States obligates funds for any as-

| 1 | sessed or voluntary contribution for United Nations |
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| 2 | peacekeeping activities, except that if the President |
| 3 | determines that an emergency exists which prevents |
| 4 | compliance with the requirement that such notifica- |
| 5 | tion be provided 15 days in advance and that such |
| 6 | contribution is in the national security interests of |
| 7 | the United States, such notification shall be pro- |
| 8 | vided in a timely manner but no later than 48 hours |
| 9 | after such obligation.". |
| 10 | SEC. 504. REVISED NOTICE TO CONGRESS REGARDING |
| 11 | UNITED STATES ASSISTANCE FOR UNITED |
| 12 | NATIONS PEACEKEEPING ACTIVITIES. |
| 13 | Section 7 of the United Nations Participation Act of |
| 14 | 1945 (22 U.S.C. 287d-1) is amended— |
| 15 | (1) in subsection (a), by inserting "other than |
| 16 | subsection (e)(1)" after "any other law"; and |
| 17 | (2) by adding at the end the following new sub- |
| 18 | section: |
| 19 | "(e)(1) Except as provided in paragraphs (2) and (3), |
| 20 | at least 15 days before any agency or entity of the United |
| 21 | States Government makes available to the United Nations |
| 22 | any assistance or facility to support or facilitate United |
| 23 | Nations peacekeeping activities, the President shall so no- |
| 24 | tify the designated congressional committees. |
| 25 | "(2) Paragraph (1) does not apply to— |

| 1 | "(A) assistance having a value of less than |
|----|--------------------------------------------------------------|
| 2 | \$1,000,000 in the case of nonreimbursable assist- |
| 3 | ance or less than \$5,000,000 in the case of reim- |
| 4 | bursable assistance; or |
| 5 | "(B) assistance provided under the emergency |
| 6 | drawdown authority contained in sections $506(a)(1)$ |
| 7 | and 552(c)(2) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 |
| 8 | (22 U.S.C. 2318(a)(1), 2348a(c)(2)). |
| 9 | "(3) If the President determines that an emergency |
| 10 | exists which prevents compliance with the requirement in |
| 11 | paragraph (1) that notification be provided 15 days in ad- |
| 12 | vance and that the contribution of any such assistance or |
| 13 | facility is in the national security interests of the United |
| 14 | States, such notification shall be provided in a timely man- |
| 15 | ner but not later than 48 hours after such assistance or |
| 16 | facility is made available to the United Nations. |
| 17 | "(4) For purposes of this subsection, the term 'assist- |
| 18 | ance'— |
| 19 | "(A) means assistance of any kind, including |
| 20 | logistical support, supplies, goods, or services (in- |
| 21 | cluding command, control or communications assist- |
| 22 | ance and training), and the grant of rights of pas- |
| 23 | sage; and |
| 24 | "(B) includes assistance provided through in- |
| 25 | kind contributions or through the provision of sup- |

| 1 | port, supplies, goods, or services on any terms, in- |
|----|-------------------------------------------------------|
| 2 | cluding on a grant, lease, loan, or reimbursable |
| 3 | basis; but |
| 4 | "(C) does not include the payment of assessed |
| 5 | or voluntary contributions or intelligence activities |
| 6 | reportable under title V of the National Security Act |
| 7 | of 1947 (50 U.S.C. 413 et seq.).". |
| 8 | SEC. 505. UNITED STATES CONTRIBUTIONS TO UNITED NA- |
| 9 | TIONS PEACEKEEPING ACTIVITIES. |
| 10 | Section $4(d)(1)$ of the United Nations Participation |
| 11 | Act of 1945 (22 U.S.C. 287b(d)(1)) is amended— |
| 12 | (1) by redesignating subparagraph (D) as sub- |
| 13 | paragraph (E); and |
| 14 | (2) by inserting after subparagraph (C) the fol- |
| 15 | lowing new subparagraph: |
| 16 | "(D) A description of the anticipated |
| 17 | budget for the next fiscal year for United |
| 18 | States participation in United Nations peace- |
| 19 | keeping activities, including a statement of— |
| 20 | "(i) the aggregate amount of funds |
| 21 | available to the United Nations for that |
| 22 | fiscal year, including assessed and vol- |
| 23 | untary contributions, which may be made |
| 24 | available for United Nations peacekeeping |
| 25 | activities; and |

| 1 | "(ii) the aggregate amount of funds |
|----|------------------------------------------------------------|
| 2 | (from all accounts) and the aggregate costs |
| 3 | of in-kind contributions that the United |
| 4 | States proposes to make available to the |
| 5 | United Nations for that fiscal year for |
| 6 | United Nations peacekeeping activities.". |
| 7 | SEC. 506. REIMBURSEMENT TO THE UNITED STATES FOR |
| 8 | IN-KIND CONTRIBUTIONS TO UNITED NA- |
| 9 | TIONS PEACEKEEPING ACTIVITIES. |
| 10 | (a) IN GENERAL.—Section 7 of the United Nations |
| 11 | Participation Act of 1945 (22 U.S.C. 287d-1), as amend- |
| 12 | ed by section 504, is further amended— |
| 13 | (1) in subsection (b)— |
| 14 | (A) by inserting "(1)" after "(b)"; |
| 15 | (B) by striking "United States: Provided," |
| 16 | through "Provided further, That when" and in- |
| 17 | serting "United States. When"; and |
| 18 | (C) by adding at the end the following: |
| 19 | "(2) The Secretary of Defense may waive the require- |
| 20 | ment for reimbursement under paragraph (1) if the Sec- |
| 21 | retary, after consultation with the Secretary of State and |
| 22 | the Director of the Office of Management and Budget, de- |
| 23 | termines that an emergency exists which justifies waiver |
| 24 | of that requirement. Any such waiver shall be submitted |
| 25 | to the designated congressional committees, as defined in |

- 1 section 10(a)(3)(B), at least 15 days before it takes effect,
- 2 except that if the President determines that an emergency
- 3 exists which prevents compliance with the requirement
- 4 that the notification be provided 15 days in advance and
- 5 that the provision under subsection (a)(1) or (a)(2) of per-
- 6 sonnel or assistance on a nonreimbursable basis is in the
- 7 national security interests of the United States, such noti-
- 8 fication shall be provided in a timely manner but no later
- 9 than 48 hours after such waiver takes effect."; and
- 10 (2) by adding at the end the following new sub-
- 11 section:
- 12 "(f) The Secretary of State shall ensure that goods
- 13 and services provided on a reimbursable basis by the De-
- 14 partment of Defense to the United Nations for United Na-
- 15 tions peacekeeping operations under this section or any
- 16 other provision of law are reimbursed at the appropriate
- 17 value, as determined by the Secretary of Defense.".
- 18 (b) Initial Report.—
- 19 (1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than one year
- after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Rep-
- 21 resentative of the United States to the United Na-
- tions shall submit to the designated congressional
- committees a report on all actions taken by the
- United States mission to the United Nations to
- achieve the objective described in section 7(f) of the

- United Nations Participation Act of 1945, as added by subsection (a)(2).

 (2) DESIGNATED CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES

 DEFINED.—As used in this subsection, the term "designated congressional committees" has the meaning given such term in section 10(a)(3)(B) of the United Nations Participation Act of 1945, as added by section 501.
- 9 SEC. 507. LIMITATION ON PAYMENT OF UNITED STATES AS-
- 10 SESSED OR VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS
- 11 FOR UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING AC-
- 12 **TIVITIES.**
- 13 (a) IN GENERAL.—Section 10 of the United Nations
- 14 Participation Act of 1945 is amended by adding after sub-
- 15 section (b), as added by section 503, the following new
- 16 subsection:
- 17 "(c) Limitation on Payment of Assessed or
- 18 VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS FOR PEACEKEEPING AC-
- 19 TIVITIES.—
- 20 "(1) Limitation.—Appropriated funds may
- 21 not be used to pay any United States assessed or
- voluntary contribution during any fiscal year for
- United Nations peacekeeping activities until the Sec-
- retary of Defense certifies to the designated congres-
- sional committees that the United Nations has reim-

bursed the Department of Defense directly for all
 goods and services—

"(A) that were provided to the United Nations by the Department of Defense on a reimbursable basis during a previous fiscal year after fiscal year 1994 for United Nations peacekeeping activities, including personnel and assistance provided under section 7 (except to the extent that the authority of subsection (b)(2) of such section to waive the reimbursement requirement was exercised with respect to such personnel or assistance); and

- "(B) for which a request for reimbursement has been submitted to the United Nations in accordance with paragraph (2).
- "(2) Request for Reimbursement.—The President shall establish procedures for the submission to the United Nations of requests for reimbursement for goods and services provided to the United Nations by the Department of Defense on a reimbursable basis for United Nations peacekeeping activities. Such procedures shall ensure that each such request for reimbursement is submitted in a timely manner."

| 1 | (b) Effective Date.—The limitation in section |
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| 2 | 10(c)(1) of the United Nations Participation Act of 1945, |
| 3 | as added by subsection (a), shall apply only with respect |
| 4 | to fiscal years after fiscal year 1995. |
| 5 | SEC. 508. LIMITATION ON USE OF DEPARTMENT OF DE- |
| 6 | FENSE FUNDS FOR UNITED STATES SHARE |
| 7 | OF COSTS OF UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEP- |
| 8 | ING ACTIVITIES. |
| 9 | (a) IN GENERAL.—(1) Chapter 20 of title 10, United |
| 10 | States Code, is amended by inserting after section 405, |
| 11 | as added by section 401 of this Act, the following new |
| 12 | section: |
| 13 | "§ 406. Use of Department of Defense funds for Unit- |
| 14 | ed States share of costs of United Nations |
| 15 | peacekeeping activities: limitation |
| 16 | "(a) Prohibition on Use of Funds for Payment |
| 17 | of Assessments and Voluntary Contributions.— |
| 18 | (1) Funds available to the Department of Defense may |
| 19 | not be used to make a financial contribution (directly or |
| 20 | through another department or agency of the United |
| 21 | States) to the United Nations— |
| 22 | "(A) for the costs of a United Nations peace- |
| 23 | keeping activity; or |
| 24 | "(B) for any United States arrearage to the |
| 25 | United Nations. |

- 1 "(2) The prohibition in paragraph (1)(A) applies to
- 2 voluntary contributions, as well as to contributions pursu-
- 3 ant to assessment by the United Nations for the United
- 4 States share of the costs of a peacekeeping activity.
- 5 "(b) Limitation on Use of Funds for Participa-
- 6 TION IN UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING ACTIVITIES.—
- 7 Funds available to the Department of Defense may be
- 8 used for payment of the incremental costs associated with
- 9 the participation of elements of the armed forces in a
- 10 United Nations peacekeeping activity only to the extent
- 11 that Congress has by law specifically authorized the use
- 12 of those funds for that purpose.
- 13 "(c) COVERED PEACEKEEPING ACTIVITIES.—In this
- 14 section, the term 'United Nations peacekeeping activity'
- 15 means a peacekeeping activity carried out pursuant to a
- 16 resolution of the United Nations Security Council for
- 17 which costs are met (in whole or in part) through assess-
- 18 ments by the United Nations to its member nations.".
- 19 (2) The table of sections at the beginning of such
- 20 chapter is amended by adding at the end the following
- 21 new item:

"406. Use of Department of Defense funds for United States share of costs of United Nations peacekeeping activities: limitation.".

- 22 (b) Effective Date.—Section 406 of title 10, Unit-
- 23 ed States Code, as added by subsection (a), shall take ef-
- 24 fect on October 1, 1995.

| 1 | SEC. 509. CODIFICATION OF LIMITATION ON AMOUNT OF |
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| 2 | UNITED STATES ASSESSED CONTRIBUTIONS |
| 3 | FOR UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING OPER- |
| 4 | ATIONS. |
| 5 | (a) In General.—Section 10 of the United Nations |
| 6 | Participation Act of 1945 is amended by adding after sub- |
| 7 | section (c), as added by section 507, the following new |
| 8 | subsection: |
| 9 | "(d) Limitation on Assessed Contribution |
| 10 | WITH RESPECT TO A PEACEKEEPING OPERATION.— |
| 11 | Funds authorized to be appropriated for 'Contributions |
| 12 | for International Peacekeeping Activities' for any fiscal |
| 13 | year shall not be available for the payment of the United |
| 14 | States assessed contribution for a United Nations peace- |
| 15 | keeping operation in an amount which is greater than 25 |
| 16 | percent of the total amount of all assessed contributions |
| 17 | for that operation, and any arrearages that accumulate |
| 18 | as a result of assessments in excess of 25 percent of the $$ |
| 19 | total amount of all assessed contributions for any United |
| 20 | Nations peacekeeping operation shall not be recognized or |
| 21 | paid by the United States.". |
| 22 | (b) Effective Date.—The limitation contained in |
| 23 | section $10(d)$ of the United Nations Participation Act of |
| 24 | 1945, as added by subsection (a), shall apply only with |
| 25 | respect to funds authorized to be appropriated for "Con- |

- 1 tributions for International Peacekeeping Activities" for
- 2 fiscal years after fiscal year 1995.
- 3 (c) Conforming Amendment.—Section 404(b) of
- 4 the Foreign Relations Authorization Act, Fiscal Years
- 5 1994 and 1995 (Public Law 103-236) is amended by
- 6 striking paragraph (2).

7 SEC. 510. BUY AMERICAN REQUIREMENT.

- 8 Section 10 of the United Nations Participation Act
- 9 of 1945 is amended by adding after subsection (d), as
- 10 added by section 509, the following new subsections:
- 11 "(e) Buy American Requirement.—No funds may
- 12 be obligated or expended to pay any United States as-
- 13 sessed or voluntary contribution for United Nations peace-
- 14 keeping activities unless the Secretary of State determines
- 15 and certifies to the designated congressional committees
- 16 that United States manufacturers and suppliers are being
- 17 given opportunities to provide equipment, services, and
- 18 material for such activities equal to those being given to
- 19 foreign manufacturers and suppliers.
- 20 "(f) Designated Congressional Committees
- 21 Defined.—As used in this section, the term 'designated
- 22 congressional committees' means—
- 23 "(1) the Committee on International Relations
- 24 and the Committee on Appropriations of the House
- of Representatives; and

| 1 | "(2) the Committee on Foreign Relations and |
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| 2 | the Committee on Appropriations of the Senate.". |
| 3 | SEC. 511. UNITED NATIONS BUDGETARY AND MANAGE- |
| 4 | MENT REFORM. |
| 5 | (a) In General.—The United Nations Participation |
| 6 | Act of 1945 (22 U.S.C. 287 et seq.) is further amended |
| 7 | by adding at the end the following new section: |
| 8 | "Sec. 11. (a) Withholding of Contributions.— |
| 9 | "(1) Assessed contributions for regular |
| 10 | UNITED NATIONS BUDGET.—At the beginning of |
| 11 | each fiscal year, 20 percent of the amount of funds |
| 12 | made available for that fiscal year for United States |
| 13 | assessed contributions for the regular United Na- |
| 14 | tions budget shall be withheld from obligation and |
| 15 | expenditure unless a certification for that fiscal year |
| 16 | has been made under subsection (b). |
| 17 | "(2) Assessed contributions for united |
| 18 | NATIONS PEACEKEEPING.—At the beginning of each |
| 19 | fiscal year, 50 percent of the amount of funds made |
| 20 | available for that fiscal year for United States as- |
| 21 | sessed contributions for United Nations peacekeep- |
| 22 | ing activities shall be withheld from obligation and |
| 23 | expenditure unless a certification for that fiscal year |

has been made under subsection (b).

- "(3) VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS FOR UNITED 1 2 NATIONS PEACEKEEPING.—The United States may not during any fiscal year pay any voluntary con-3 tribution to the United Nations for international peacekeeping activities unless a certification for that 5 6 fiscal year has been made under subsection (b). "(b) CERTIFICATION.—The certification referred to 7 in subsection (a) for any fiscal year is a certification by 8 the President to the Congress, submitted on or after the beginning of that fiscal year, of each of the following: 10 "(1) The United Nations has an independent 11 office of Inspector General to conduct and supervise 12
- 11 "(1) The United Nations has an independent 12 office of Inspector General to conduct and supervise 13 objective audits, inspections, and investigations re-14 lating to programs and operations of the United Na-15 tions.
 - "(2) The United Nations has an Inspector General who was appointed by the Secretary General with the approval of the General Assembly and whose appointment was made principally on the basis of the appointee's integrity and demonstrated ability in accounting, auditing, financial analysis, law, management analysis, public administration, or investigation.
- 24 "(3) The Inspector General is authorized to—

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| 1 | "(A) make investigations and reports relat- |
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| 2 | ing to the administration of the programs and |
| 3 | operations of the United Nations; |
| 4 | "(B) have access to all records, documents, |
| 5 | and other available materials relating to those |
| 6 | programs and operations; |
| 7 | "(C) have direct and prompt access to any |
| 8 | official of the United Nations; and |
| 9 | "(D) have access to all records and offi- |
| 10 | cials of the specialized agencies of the United |
| 11 | Nations. |
| 12 | "(4) The United Nations has fully imple- |
| 13 | mented, and made available to all member states |
| 14 | procedures that effectively protect the identity of |
| 15 | and prevent reprisals against, any staff member of |
| 16 | the United Nations making a complaint or disclosing |
| 17 | information to, or cooperating in any investigation |
| 18 | or inspection by, the United Nations Inspector Gen- |
| 19 | eral. |
| 20 | "(5) The United Nations has fully implemented |
| 21 | procedures that ensure compliance with rec- |
| 22 | ommendations of the United Nations Inspector Gen- |
| 23 | eral. |
| 24 | "(6) The United Nations has required the |
| 25 | United Nations Inspector General to issue an annual |

- 1 report and has ensured that the annual report and
- 2 all other reports of the Inspector General are made
- 3 available to the General Assembly without modifica-
- 4 tion.
- 5 "(7) The United Nations has provided, and is
- 6 committed to providing, sufficient budgetary re-
- 7 sources to ensure the effective operation of the
- 8 United Nations Inspector General.".
- 9 (b) Effective Date.—Section 11 of the United Na-
- 10 tions Participation Act of 1945, as added by subsection
- 11 (a), shall apply only with respect to fiscal years after fiscal
- 12 year 1995.
- 13 SEC. 512. CONDITIONS ON PROVISION OF INTELLIGENCE
- 14 TO THE UNITED NATIONS.
- 15 (a) IN GENERAL.—The United Nations Participation
- 16 Act of 1945 (22 U.S.C. 287 et seq.) is further amended
- 17 by adding at the end the following new section:
- 18 "Sec. 12. (a) Provision of Intelligence Infor-
- 19 MATION TO THE UNITED NATIONS.—Before intelligence
- 20 information is provided by the United States to the United
- 21 Nations, the President shall ensure that the Director of
- 22 Central Intelligence, in consultation with the Secretary of
- 23 State and the Secretary of Defense, has established guide-
- 24 lines governing the provision of intelligence information to
- 25 the United Nations which shall protect intelligence sources

- 1 and methods from unauthorized disclosure in accordance
- 2 with section 103(c)(5) of the National Security Act of
- 3 1947 (50 U.S.C. 403–3(c)(5)).
- 4 "(b) Periodic and Special Reports.—(1) The
- 5 President shall periodically report, but not less frequently
- 6 than semiannually, to the Committee on International Re-
- 7 lations and the Permanent Select Committee on Intel-
- 8 ligence of the House of Representatives and the Commit-
- 9 tee on Foreign Relations and the Select Committee on In-
- 10 telligence of the Senate on the types of intelligence pro-
- 11 vided to the United Nations and the purposes for which
- 12 it was provided during the period covered by the report.
- 13 The President shall also report to the Permanent Select
- 14 Committee on Intelligence of the House of Representatives
- 15 and the Select Committee on Intelligence of the Senate,
- 16 within 15 days after it becomes known to him, any unau-
- 17 thorized disclosure of intelligence provided to the United
- 18 Nations.
- 19 "(2) The requirement for periodic reports under the
- 20 first sentence of paragraph (1) of this subsection shall not
- 21 apply to the provision of intelligence that is provided only
- 22 to, and for the use of, United States Government person-
- 23 nel serving with the United Nations.

- 1 "(c) Delegation of Duties.—The President may
- 2 not delegate or assign the duties of the President under
- 3 this section.
- 4 "(d) Improved Handling of Intelligence In-
- 5 FORMATION BY THE UNITED NATIONS.—The Secretary of
- 6 State (or the designee of the Secretary), in consultation
- 7 with the Director of Central Intelligence and the Secretary
- 8 of Defense, shall work with the United Nations to improve
- 9 the handling, processing, dissemination, and management
- 10 of all intelligence information provided to it by its mem-
- 11 bers.
- 12 "(e) Relationship to Existing Law.—Nothing in
- 13 this section shall be construed to—
- 14 "(1) impair or otherwise affect the authority of
- the Director of Central Intelligence to protect intel-
- ligence sources and methods from unauthorized dis-
- 17 closure pursuant to section 103(c)(5) of the Na-
- 18 tional Security Act of 1947 (50 U.S.C. 403–3(c)(5));
- 19 or
- 20 "(2) supersede or otherwise affect the provi-
- sions of title V of the National Security Act of 1947
- 22 (50 U.S.C. 413 et seq.).".
- 23 (b) Effective Date.—The amendment made by
- 24 subsection (a) shall take effect 45 days after the date of
- 25 the enactment of this Act.

TITLE VI—EXPANSION OF THE

2 **NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY**

ORGANIZATION

- 4 SEC. 601. SHORT TITLE.
- This title may be cited as the "NATO Expansion Act of 1995".
- 7 SEC. 602. FINDINGS.

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- 8 The Congress makes the following findings:
 - (1) Since 1949, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) has helped to guarantee the security, freedom, and prosperity of the United States and its partners in the alliance.
 - (2) NATO has expanded its membership on three different occasions since its founding in 1949.
 - (3) The steadfast and sustained commitment of the member countries of NATO to mutual defense against the threat of communist domination played a significant role in precipitating the collapse of the Iron Curtain and the demise of the Soviet Union.
 - (4) Although new threats are more geographically and functionally diverse and less predictable, they still imperil shared interests of the United States and its NATO allies.

- 1 (5) Western interests must be protected on a 2 cooperative basis without an undue burden falling 3 upon the United States.
 - (6) NATO is the only multilateral organization that is capable of conducting effective military operations to protect Western interests.
 - (7) The valuable experience gained from ongoing military cooperation within NATO was critical to the success of joint military operations in the 1991 liberation of Kuwait.
 - (8) NATO is an important diplomatic forum for discussion of issues of concern to its member states and for the peaceful resolution of disputes.
 - (9) Admission of Central and East European countries that have recently been freed from Communist domination to NATO could contribute to international peace and enhance the security of those countries.
 - (10) By joining the Partnership for Peace, a number of countries have expressed interest in NATO membership.
 - (11) The Partnership for Peace program is creating new political and military ties with countries in Central and Eastern Europe and provides the basis for joint action to deal with common security

| 1 | problems. Active participation in the Partnership for |
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| 2 | Peace will also play an important role in the evolu- |
| 3 | tionary process of NATO expansion. |
| 4 | (12) In particular, Poland, Hungary, the Czech |
| 5 | Republic, and Slovakia have made significant |
| 6 | progress toward establishing democratic institutions |
| 7 | free market economies, civilian control of their |
| 8 | armed forces, police, and intelligence services, and |
| 9 | the rule of law since the fall of their previous Com- |
| 10 | munist governments. |
| 11 | SEC. 603. UNITED STATES POLICY. |
| 12 | It should be the policy of the United States— |
| 13 | (1) to continue the Nation's commitment to ar |
| 14 | active leadership role in NATO; |
| 15 | (2) to join with the Nation's NATO allies to re- |
| 16 | define the role of the alliance in the post-Cold War |
| 17 | world, taking into account— |
| 18 | (A) the fundamentally changed security en- |
| 19 | vironment of Central and Eastern Europe; |
| 20 | (B) the need to assure all countries of the |
| 21 | defensive nature of the alliance and the desire |
| 22 | of its members to work cooperatively with all |
| 23 | former adversaries; |
| 24 | (C) the emerging security threats posed by |
| 25 | the proliferation of nuclear, chemical, and bio- |

logical weapons of mass destruction and the 1 2 means to deliver them; (D) the continuing challenges to the inter-3 4 ests of all NATO member countries posed by unstable and undemocratic regimes harboring 5 6 hostile intentions; and 7 (E) the dependence of the global economy on a stable energy supply and the free flow of 8 9 commerce; (3) to affirm that NATO military planning 10 11 should include joint military operations beyond the geographic bounds of the alliance under Article 4 of 12 the North Atlantic Treaty when the shared interests 13 of the United States and other member countries re-14 15 quire such action to defend vital interests; 16 (4) to expeditiously pursue joint cooperation 17 agreements for the acquisition of essential systems 18 to significantly increase the crisis management capa-19 bility of NATO; 20 (5) that Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia should be in a position to further the 21 22 principles of the North Atlantic Treaty and to con-

tribute to the security of the North Atlantic area in

the near future, and, in accordance with Article 10

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| 1 | of such Treaty, should be invited to become full |
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| 2 | NATO members, provided these countries— |
| 3 | (A) meet appropriate standards, includ- |
| 4 | ing— |
| 5 | (i) shared values and interests; |
| 6 | (ii) democratic governments; |
| 7 | (iii) free market economies; |
| 8 | (iv) civilian control of the military, of |
| 9 | the police, and of the intelligence and other |
| 10 | security services, so that these organiza- |
| 11 | tions do not pose a threat to democratic |
| 12 | institutions, neighboring countries, or the |
| 13 | security of NATO or the United States; |
| 14 | (v) adherence to the rule of law and |
| 15 | to the values, principles, and political com- |
| 16 | mitments set forth in the Helsinki Final |
| 17 | Act and other declarations by the members |
| 18 | of the Organization on Security and Co- |
| 19 | operation in Europe; |
| 20 | (vi) commitment to further the prin- |
| 21 | ciples of NATO and to contribute to the |
| 22 | security of the North Atlantic area; |
| 23 | (vii) commitment and ability to accept |
| 24 | the obligations, responsibilities, and costs |
| 25 | of NATO membership; and |

| 1 | (viii) commitment and ability to im- |
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| 2 | plement infrastructure development activi- |
| 3 | ties that will facilitate participation in and |
| 4 | support for NATO military activities; and |
| 5 | (B) remain committed to protecting the |
| 6 | rights of all their citizens and respecting the |
| 7 | territorial integrity of their neighbors; |
| 8 | (6) that the United States, other NATO mem- |
| 9 | ber nations, and NATO itself should furnish appro- |
| 10 | priate assistance to facilitate the transition of Po- |
| 11 | land, Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia to |
| 12 | full NATO membership; |
| 13 | (7) to reaffirm article X of the North Atlantic |
| 14 | Treaty and the policy decision of the North Atlantic |
| 15 | Council on December 1, 1994, that— |
| 16 | (A) each new member nation may be ad- |
| 17 | mitted to NATO only by amendment to the |
| 18 | North Atlantic Treaty; and |
| 19 | (B) each current NATO member nation |
| 20 | will have to complete the treaty amendment |
| 21 | ratification process for the admission of each |
| 22 | new member nation to NATO, subject to the in- |
| 23 | ternal legal processes of each current NATO |
| 24 | member nation, and that in the case of the |
| 25 | United States, the treaty amendment ratifica- |

- tion process will require advice and consent of two-thirds of the members of the United States Senate present and voting;
 - (8) that the expansion of NATO should be defensive in nature and should occur in a manner that increases stability for all nations of Europe, including both NATO member nations and non-NATO member nations;
 - (9) that NATO and its member nations should cooperate closely with Russia on security issues and work to strengthen other structures of security cooperation in Europe, including the Organization on Security and Cooperation in Europe; and
 - (10) that other European countries emerging from communist domination may be in a position at a future date to further the principles of the North Atlantic Treaty and to contribute to the security of the North Atlantic area, and at the appropriate time they should receive assistance to facilitate their transition to full NATO membership and should be invited to become full NATO members.

22 SEC. 604. REVISIONS TO PROGRAM TO FACILITATE TRANSI-

- 23 TION TO NATO MEMBERSHIP.
- 24 (a) ESTABLISHMENT OF PROGRAM.—Subsection (a) 25 of section 203 of the NATO Participation Act of 1994

- 1 (title II of Public Law 103–447; 22 U.S.C. 1928 note)
- 2 is amended to read as follows:
- 3 "(a) ESTABLISHMENT OF PROGRAM.—The President
- 4 shall establish a program to assist in the transition to full
- 5 NATO membership of Poland, Hungary, the Czech Re-
- 6 public, and Slovakia and any other European country
- 7 emerging from communist domination that is designated
- 8 by the President under subsection (d)(2).".
- 9 (b) ELIGIBLE COUNTRIES.—
- 10 (1) Designated countries.—Subsection (d)
 11 of such section is amended to read as follows:
- 12 "(d) Designation of Eligible Countries.—
- "(1) Specified countries.—The following
 countries are hereby designated for purposes of this
 title: Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Slo-
- 16 vakia.
- 17 "(2) AUTHORITY FOR PRESIDENT TO DES-
- 18 IGNATE OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES EMERGING
- 19 FROM COMMUNIST DOMINATION.—The President
- 20 may designate other European countries emerging
- from communist domination (as defined in section
- 22 206) to receive assistance under the program estab-
- lished under subsection (a). The President may
- 24 make such a designation in the case of any such
- country only if the President determines, and re-

| 1 | ports to the designated congressional committees, |
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| 2 | that such country— |
| 3 | "(A) has made significant progress toward |
| 4 | establishing— |
| 5 | "(i) shared values and interests; |
| 6 | ''(ii) democratic governments; |
| 7 | "(iii) free market economies; |
| 8 | "(iv) civilian control of the military, of |
| 9 | the police, and of the intelligence and other |
| 10 | security services, so that these organiza- |
| 11 | tions do not pose a threat to democratic |
| 12 | institutions, neighboring countries, or the |
| 13 | security of NATO or the United States; |
| 14 | "(v) adherence to the rule of law and |
| 15 | to the values, principles, and political com- |
| 16 | mitments set forth in the Helsinki Final |
| 17 | Act and other declarations by the members |
| 18 | of the Organization on Security and Co- |
| 19 | operation in Europe; |
| 20 | "(vi) commitment to further the prin- |
| 21 | ciples of NATO and to contribute to the |
| 22 | security of the North Atlantic area; |
| 23 | "(vii) commitment and ability to ac- |
| 24 | cept the obligations, responsibilities, and |
| 25 | costs of NATO membership; and |

| 1 | "(viii) commitment and ability to im- |
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| 2 | plement infrastructure development activi- |
| 3 | ties that will facilitate participation in and |
| 4 | support for NATO military activities; and |
| 5 | "(B) is likely, within five years of such de- |
| 6 | termination, to be in a position to further the |
| 7 | principles of the North Atlantic Treaty and to |
| 8 | contribute to the security of the North Atlantic |
| 9 | area.''. |
| 10 | (2) Conforming amendments.— |
| 11 | (A) Subsections (b) and (c) of such section |
| 12 | are amended by striking "countries described in |
| 13 | such subsection" and inserting "countries des- |
| 14 | ignated under subsection (d)". |
| 15 | (B) Subsection (e) of such section is |
| 16 | amended— |
| 17 | (i) by striking "subsection (d)" and |
| 18 | inserting "subsection (d)(2)"; and |
| 19 | (ii) by inserting "(22 U.S.C. 2394)" |
| 20 | before the period at the end. |
| 21 | (C) Section 204(c) of such Act is amended |
| 22 | by striking "any other Partnership for Peace |
| 23 | country designated under section 203(d) of this |
| 24 | title" and inserting "any country designated |
| 25 | under section 203(d)(2)". |

| 1 | (c) Types of Assistance.— |
|----|-----------------------------------------------------------|
| 2 | (1) Economic support assistance.—Sub- |
| 3 | section (c) of section 203 of such Act is amended— |
| 4 | (A) by redesignating paragraphs (3) and |
| 5 | (4) as paragraphs (4) and (5), respectively; and |
| 6 | (B) by inserting after paragraph (2) the |
| 7 | following new paragraph (3): |
| 8 | "(3) Assistance under chapter 4 of part II of |
| 9 | the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (relating to the |
| 10 | Economic Support Fund).". |
| 11 | (2) Additional assistance.— |
| 12 | (A) IN GENERAL.—Subsection (f) of such |
| 13 | section is amended to read as follows: |
| 14 | "(f) Additional Assistance.—In carrying out the |
| 15 | program established under subsection (a), the President |
| 16 | may, in addition to the security assistance authorized to |
| 17 | be provided under subsection (c), provide assistance to |
| 18 | countries designated under subsection (d) from funds ap- |
| 19 | propriated under the 'Nonproliferation and Disarmament |
| 20 | Fund' account.". |
| 21 | (B) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment |
| 22 | made by subparagraph (A) does not apply with |
| 23 | respect to funds appropriated before the date of |
| 24 | the enactment of this Act |

- 1 (d) Disqualification From Assistance for Sup-
- 2 PORT OF TERRORISM.—Section 203 of such Act is further
- 3 amended by adding at the end the following new sub-
- 4 section:
- 5 "(g) Prohibition on Providing Assistance to
- 6 COUNTRIES THAT PROVIDE DEFENSE ARTICLES TO
- 7 COUNTRIES SUPPORTING INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM.—
- 8 The President may not provide assistance to a country
- 9 under the program established under subsection (a) if
- 10 such country is selling or transferring defense articles to
- 11 a state that has repeatedly provided support for acts of
- 12 international terrorism, as determined by the Secretary of
- 13 State under section 6(j) of the Export Administration Act
- 14 of 1979.".
- 15 (e) Report Prior to Obligation or Expendi-
- 16 Ture of Funds.—Section 203 of such Act (as amended
- 17 by subsection (d)) is further amended by adding at the
- 18 end the following:
- 19 "(h) REPORT PRIOR TO OBLIGATION OR EXPENDI-
- 20 TURE OF FUNDS.—Prior to providing assistance to a
- 21 country for the first time through the program established
- 22 under subsection (a), the President shall transmit to the
- 23 designated congressional committees a report with respect
- 24 to that country that contains a description of the follow-
- 25 ing:

| 1 | $\lq\lq(1)$ The cost of membership in NATO for the |
|----|--------------------------------------------------------|
| 2 | country and the amount that the country is prepared |
| 3 | to contribute to NATO to pay for such cost of mem- |
| 4 | bership. |
| 5 | "(2) The amount that the United States will |
| 6 | contribute to facilitate transition to full NATO |
| 7 | membership for the country. |
| 8 | "(3) The extent to which the admission to |
| 9 | NATO of the country would contribute to the secu- |
| 10 | rity of the United States. |
| 11 | "(4) The views of other NATO member nations |
| 12 | regarding the admission to NATO of the country |
| 13 | and the amounts that such other NATO member na- |
| 14 | tions will contribute to facilitate transition to full |
| 15 | NATO membership for the country.". |
| 16 | (f) Annual Report.—Section 205 of the NATO |
| 17 | Participation Act of 1994 (title II of Public Law 103- |
| 18 | 447; 22 U.S.C. 1928 note) is amended— |
| 19 | (1) by inserting "ANNUAL" in the section |
| 20 | heading before the first word; |
| 21 | (2) by inserting "annual" after "include in the" |
| 22 | in the matter preceding paragraph (1); and |
| 23 | (3) in paragraphs (1) and (2), by striking "and |
| 24 | other" and all that follows through the period at the |

| 1 | end and inserting "and any country designated by |
|----|---------------------------------------------------------|
| 2 | the President pursuant to section 203(d)(2).". |
| 3 | (g) Definitions.—The NATO Participation Act of |
| 4 | 1994 (title II of Public Law 103-447; 22 U.S.C. 1928 |
| 5 | note) is amended by adding at the end the following new |
| 6 | section: |
| 7 | "SEC. 206. DEFINITIONS. |
| 8 | "For purposes of this title: |
| 9 | "(1) NATO.—The term 'NATO' means the |
| 10 | North Atlantic Treaty Organization. |
| 11 | "(2) Other European countries emerging |
| 12 | FROM COMMUNIST DOMINATION.—The term 'other |
| 13 | European countries emerging from communist domi- |
| 14 | nation' means any full and active participant in the |
| 15 | Partnership for Peace that— |
| 16 | "(A) is located— |
| 17 | "(i) in the territory of the former |
| 18 | Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; or |
| 19 | "(ii) in the territory of the former So- |
| 20 | cialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia; or |
| 21 | "(B) is among the following countries: Es- |
| 22 | tonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Bulgaria, or |
| 23 | Albania |

| 1 | "(3) Designated congressional commit- |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 2 | TEES.—The term 'designated congressional commit- |
| 3 | tees' means— |
| 4 | "(A) the Committee on International Rela- |
| 5 | tions, the Committee on National Security, and |
| 6 | the Committee on Appropriations of the House |
| 7 | of Representatives; and |
| 8 | "(B) the Committee on Foreign Relations, |
| 9 | the Committee on Armed Services, and the |
| 10 | Committee on Appropriations of the Senate.". |
| 11 | TITLE VII—BUDGET FIREWALLS |
| 12 | SEC. 701. RESTORATION OF BUDGET FIREWALLS FOR DE- |
| | |
| 13 | FENSE SPENDING. |
| 13 14 | FENSE SPENDING. It is the sense of the Congress that, in order to pro- |
| 14 | |
| 14 15 | It is the sense of the Congress that, in order to pro- |
| 14 15 16 | It is the sense of the Congress that, in order to protect against the diversion of defense funding to domestic |
| 14 15 16 | It is the sense of the Congress that, in order to protect against the diversion of defense funding to domestic discretionary accounts, so-called "budget firewalls" be- |
| 14 15 16 17 | It is the sense of the Congress that, in order to protect against the diversion of defense funding to domestic discretionary accounts, so-called "budget firewalls" between defense and domestic discretionary spending should |
| 14 15 16 17 | It is the sense of the Congress that, in order to protect against the diversion of defense funding to domestic discretionary accounts, so-called "budget firewalls" between defense and domestic discretionary spending should be established for each of fiscal years 1996, 1997, and |
| 14 15 16 17 18 | It is the sense of the Congress that, in order to protect against the diversion of defense funding to domestic discretionary accounts, so-called "budget firewalls" between defense and domestic discretionary spending should be established for each of fiscal years 1996, 1997, and 1998. |
| 14 15 16 17 18 19 | It is the sense of the Congress that, in order to protect against the diversion of defense funding to domestic discretionary accounts, so-called "budget firewalls" between defense and domestic discretionary spending should be established for each of fiscal years 1996, 1997, and 1998. |
| 14 15 16 17 18 19 | It is the sense of the Congress that, in order to protect against the diversion of defense funding to domestic discretionary accounts, so-called "budget firewalls" between defense and domestic discretionary spending should be established for each of fiscal years 1996, 1997, and 1998. |

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